On the Eve of President Wilson's Departure for Home

PRESIDENT WILSON, quitting Paris to make his brief visit home, leaves Europe without the dominant figure of the peace conference. Paris almost universally admits that the achievements of President Wilson are the achievements of the peace conference to date, although opinions differ as to their values. Yet at the same time, some observers already hear, or seem to hear, a sigh of relief escape from certain plenipotentiaries as they confront the several weeks' absence of this idealistic delegate who has stood against a peace of loot and imposed his ideas, even in the face of strong opposition. A certain correspondent who could not repress his bouyant spirits, even at the opening of the conference, sent home a report that "the President's figure was imposing. He had on a coat that fitted him; and the rôle that circumstances have given him has fitted him also."

"Make no mistake about it," writes Arthur D. Howden Smith to "The New York Globe,"

"President Wilson's prestige is just as vast in Europe to-day as it was six weeks ago, and greater, if anything, from the cumulative effect. It is almost incredible how he has retained hold on the popular imagination of the peoples of the Allied countries, enabling him to compel their statesmen to accede to his policies against the latters' wishes for fear of stirring their home populations into revolt by continued opposition. In the words of one European premier, 'Wilson can overturn my government in one hour if he chooses.'"

Simple

Answering the question—one which he heard asked many times before leaving America—what, after all, is America doing in Europe, Frank H. Simonds says in The New York Tribune:

"The answer is as simple as it is surprising. At the present hour America is playing a greater rôle at Paris, possesses more influence, and encounters less opposition, politically speaking at least, than did Bismarck at the Congress of Berlin. No nation, not even Russia, was so powerful at Vienna a century ago.

"This astonishing development—and it is astonishing for a nation which in all but some few years of its existence has steadily avoided intermixture in European affairs—is in the main the result of accident, rather than of design. Not even President Wilson could have fully foreseen when he left Washington exactly what place America was to hold, not alone in the peace conference, but henceforth in the world."

Frederick Moore, another correspondent of The Tribune, says the power of President Wilson is obvious in view of the food conditions, debt, and the Bolshevist menace prevalent in all countries, but that the manner in which he wields this power is a source of almost daily surprise.

"He sits at the Villa Murat, now known to the Americans here as the White House, summons the premiers to come before him, and tells them, in effect, that military force cannot be employed against Russia, that Italy can have but a certain share of Dalmatia, that the frontier of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia shall be such and such, and that the Pacific islands lying between Japan and Australia shall be opened or closed to immigration."

In short, President Wilson has become the delegate of the people of Europe, and, being regarded almost universally by the people as the great champion of a new and ideal order of things, the people of Great Britain, France, Italy and the smaller nations will not "tolerate any hampering of his aims." Thus, to quote Arthur D. H. Smith, in "The New York Globe":

"It is entirely true that the President has won his point every time he has made it an issue. He carried the decision to approach the Bolshevists with the assistance of Great Britain and, finally, Italy, against France.

"He carried his demand to put the league of nations first on the calendar of business. He carried his plan for the procedure of business at the conference whereby all the problems were studied simultaneously. He carried his principal contentions regarding the plan for the league of nations. He carried his contention for application of the mandatory system for all the German colonies and Asia Minor—in the last instance even making an open fight against the resistance of Premier Hughes of Australia and the Japanese."

Unpleasantness

But while the President's popularity with the people remains as great as ever, and the crowds still line the streets of Paris to see him, Mr. Smith doubts if he is as popular among his brother statesmen as formerly. "This," writes "The Globe's" correspondent, "is his own fault." For—

"when the President arrived in Europe he charmed most of those he met; he was self-effacing, modest, pleasant, eager for the advice and counsel of others, and made an excellent impression. But one of the fundamental traits of his character is a lack of power of conciliation; also he is unable to disguise his dislike for persons ungracious in victory.

"It is an open secret in Paris that a most unpleasant scene marred one session of the conference when President Wilson clashed with Premier Hughes over the question of New Guinea. The President won, as usual, but his evident ill humor afterward offended the men who had supported him in actual disagreement, while Premier Hughes is still disgruntled."

"At the moment," writes William Allen White, in "The New York World," "the net result of President Wilson's European visit is the reappearance of the international consciousness of those who wish to end war forever." And Savoyard, in "The Columbia State," adds:

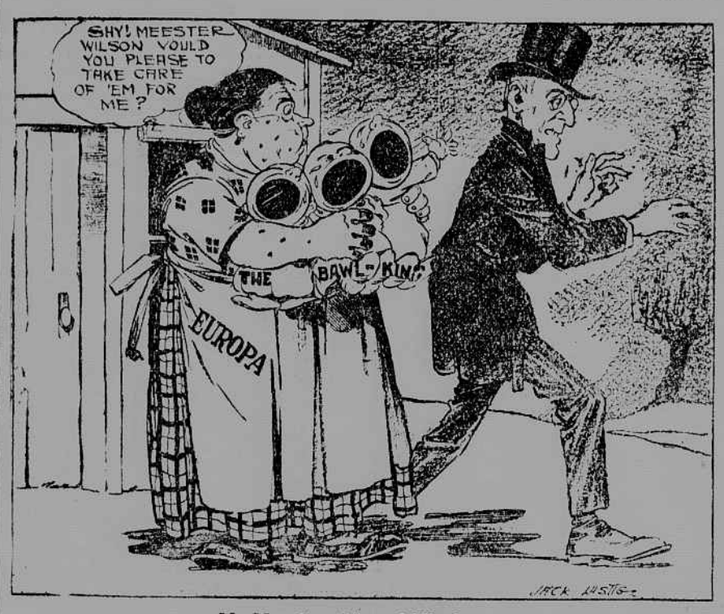
"President Wilson bluntly told England, France and the rest of the world that unless there is a league of nations the treaty that is to be made as settlement of the world war will prove 'a scrap of paper,' or words of that import, and England, France and the rest of the world, except a few Americans, believe him and are rallying to him as the world never before rallied to one man."

Yet this very power and popularity Alfred Capus, of the French Academy, famous playwright, officer of the Legion of Honor and editor in chief of the Paris "Figaro," views with dread, and voices the sentiment of the doubters when he says:

"President Wilson's position in our democracy is that of a magnificent sovereign, and it is extremely perilous. One has heard of no man in contemporary days who possesses more authority and more power. Popularity has given him what divine right did not always confer on hereditary monarchs. On the other hand, by the process of reaction his responsibility is greater than that of any absolute prince.

"If Wilson succeeds in organizing the world according to his dreams, his glory will dominate the heights of glories. But it must be frankly said that if he fails he will plunge the world into a chaos of which Russian Bolshevism is but a poor image, and his responsibility before the conscience of humanity will surpass that which can be borne by an ordinary mortal.

"It is the international equivocation around President Wilson which fatally brings these thoughs. Equivocation is the only word for it. It consists in this, that our vanquished enemies appeal to his idea to contest the reality of our victory, and to-morrow will evoke his name to refuse us its fruits."



He Has Troubles of His Own
—From *The San Francisco Bulletin*

Responsibilities

Whatever the voices say which are now being raised in praise and pessimism here and in Europe, there is no doubt that the President has come to Paris and accepted world leadership; "and since," writes Mr. Simonds—"the voice of America is so powerful in the conference, powerful for good rather than for evil in the main, I do not quite see how we are to escape some part of the new responsibilities that this world would have us undertake.

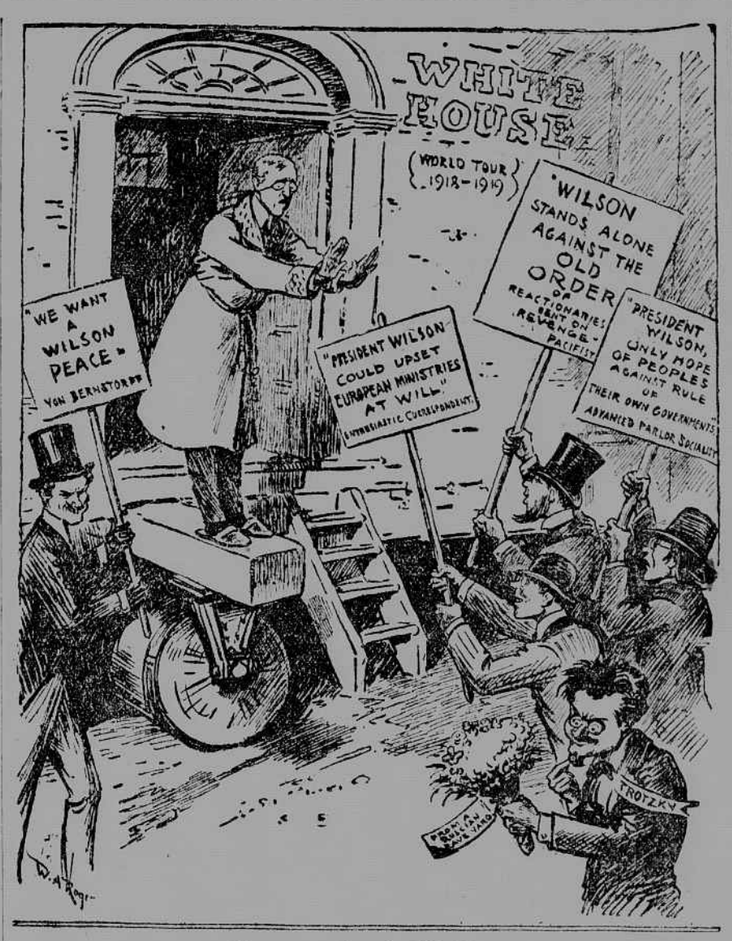
"In a word, in my judgment what is developing in Paris is a totally different relation of America to the world. The German, in a real sense, abolished the Atlantic when he called us to Europe to fight him, and neither he nor we, for that matter, can change the fact that our day of isolation is passing."

According to President Wilson himself, in an address delivered Thursday to a delegation from the French Association for a Society of Nations, one of the great results of the war and of the subsequent deliberations is that "there has already been created a force which is not only very great but very formidable, a force which can be rapidly mobilized, a force which is very effective when mobilized, namely, the moral force of the world." And he goes on to say:

"One advantage in seeing one another and talking with one another is to find that, after all, we all think the same way.

"We may try to put the result of the thing into different forms, but we start with the same principles.

"I have often been thought of as a man more interested in principles than in practice, whereas, as a matter of fact, I can say that, in one sense, principles have never interested me, because principles prove themselves when stated. They do not need any debate. The thing that is difficult and interesting is how to put them into practice. Large discourse is not possible on the principles, but large discourse is necessary on the matter of realizing them."



Demonstrations in His Honor
—From *The New York Herald*

It becomes increasingly clear that the "large discourse" has been too large for cordiality throughout, and, despite Mr. Wilson's assurance that "after all, we all think the same way," there has resulted a certain "conflict between strong minds," to use another of the President's phrases. "Mr. Wilson is known to be thin skinned and sensitive," says Frederick Moore in "The New York Tribune," and—

"'the conflict of strong minds' at the peace table has several times caused him to lose his temper. The delegates from the British Islands have made it a point to get along with him amicably. The Italians evidently feel that they are at the mercy of the British. The colonials and the French, however, have been extremely frank, while the Japanese have not as yet come into serious controversy with the President."

The Kaiser Went Unanimously.

IT WAS the Kaiser's intention up to the last to remain with his troops, according to Professor Lanz, who has been treating the ex-Emperor for influenza and has given an account of his visit to Amerongen to the Amsterdam "Handelsblad." Wilhelm only gave up when by the revolutionary movement among the troops in Belgium and on the Rhine he was shut off from Germany, says the "Handelsblad," and continues with the following account of why he sought refuge in Holland:

"If, notwithstanding these circumstances, the Kaiser had remained with the troops, the Entente, by increasing the starvation blockade, would have been able to force his extradition from the German people, which would have caused them such heavy disgrace. Second, the Kaiser could have given himself up to one of the enemy generals, but that would have been a disgrace for an unbeaten supreme command and for an unconquered German army. Third, he might have assembled all his forces for one last attack, in order to die gloriously, but as the armistice, for which the army and the people longed, was imminent, the Kaiser could not reconcile it with his conscience to sacrifice uselessly the life of a single German soldier. Fourth, he could have collected a body of trusty troops to march on Berlin to insure loyalty to his house by the sword. This, however, would have unchained civil war.

"In face of this difficult problem, the Kaiser decided to follow, as he always had done, as a constitutional monarch, both during peace and during war, the advice of his responsible counsellors. These in this case were the Field Marshal (Hindenburg), the Quartermaster General (Gröner), and the representatives of the Department of Foreign Affairs. Their advice was *unanimous* that he should go to Holland."

France's Tiger Scents Danger in the Air

"THERE is a lull in the storm," said Premier Clemenceau. "It is as well to face squarely all possibilities."

What are the possibilities the Old Tiger sees? Foremost in his mind is a recrudescence of German militarism. And Marshal Foch has told him and told the world that while the peace conference debates on the approach of the millennium Germany is gathering stores to put an army of 3,000,000 men suddenly in face of the world. At the same time news dispatches from Berlin say Germany is preparing to conscript various classes up to thirty-five years of age, and "it is understood the Minister of National Defence will proceed forthwith to adopt the measures needed to re-establish the army and put it on an effective footing."

Meanwhile Friedrich Ebert, the new President of Germany, in his speech accepting the presidency, said: "We shall combat domination by force from whatever direction it may come." And in his speech opening the German National Assembly at Weimar Ebert said: "We warn our opponents not to drive us to the uttermost. Hunger is preferable to disgrace, and deep deprivation is to be preferred to dishonor."

Professor Hans Delbrück said in an interview at the same time that if the Allied demands were considered too severe in Germany "Germany would rise at an opportune moment and again plunge the world into war."

Looking beyond Germany, the papers inform in flaming headlines that Trotzky, in Russia, is "preparing an army of 2,000,000 crusaders" to go out against the world. What is the real strength of the Bolshevik army? Nobody knows. Estimates range all the way from 300,000 to Trotzky's 2,000,000. But what seems certain is that, however large that army may be, Trotzky is somehow contriving to pay it extravagantly and feed it gorgeously, while the rest of Russia starves, in order to make it loyal to Bolshevism. And Lenine accepts the invitation to the Princes' Islands conference with the proviso that any decision will depend on the military position "which is constantly growing more favorable for Russia."

With the exception of that section of the Socialist party led by Jean Longuet and Pierre Renaudel, which has inherited Caillaux's "defeatism," the French press sees eye to eye with Clemenceau. The "Echo de Paris," after insisting upon the unrepenting warlike spirit of Germany, says: "We must without further delay act as though once more it were our task to crush the enemy. The more resolute we are the quicker the enemy will yield. All the rest is nothing but astronomer's literature." "Le Pays" says Clemenceau wants America, "which is inundated by enemy propaganda, to know in a direct manner in what state this war of destruction has left victorious France." The "Petite République" considers that "this question not only concerns relations between victor and vanquished, but between France and her Allies." "L'Action Française," familiarly known as the "camelot of the King," says:

"M. Clemenceau's declarations have the great merit of warning France and the Allies of the German peril. In his statement we are no longer in the skies of Wilsonian idealism. May it be said, while fully recognizing the great service President Wilson rendered before the armistice to civilization and France, we are now on terra firma. It is the language of our salvation."

"L'Oeuvre," a Socialist paper and strong supporter of President Wilson, says:

"There is but one remedy for the discredit into which the peace conference has fallen and the confusion into which it has led us, and that is to act promptly and courageously, as should have been done from the beginning and as we have never ceased to demand.

"It should leave for a later day the study of the Slav, Arab, Chinese and Papou problems, and should take up at once, clearly and publicly, the case of Germany. Before remaking the map of the world let us draw the line of our frontiers.

"Before bettering the state of the negroes and Tartars let us give back normal life to the French, English, Belgians and Italians, after which the diplomats may quibble at their ease."

Alfred Capus, in "Le Figaro," strongly supports Clemenceau. He says of the Tiger's statement:

"With its vigorous and hardy pessimism it is an act of ardent patriotism. It is just the plain language which it is fitting to talk to France and her Allies at the present moment. France should be made to recall that her enemy wished for fifty years to cripple her, and has not given up that design. The Allies must be told that the victory bought with so much blood and sacrifice will remain a precarious one if they do not know how to complete it. Finally, Germany must be shown that she can no longer deceive us and that it is our firm intention to make peace also 'to the finish.'

"Premier Clemenceau has never been more lucid or stronger than in these declarations, which will have a considerable effect."

Jean Longuet and Pierre Renaudel are reported to have been hobnobbing with the Germans at Berne, and "L'Humanité," which voices their opinions, says:

"The people of France will be astounded to learn that the chief of their government has used language such as it reads in this interview. No doubt it is well known that an alarmist campaign has been decided upon and is being organized to warm up jingo ardor, which was getting tepid, as well as M. Clemenceau's popularity, which is getting cooler. But is it possible that a Premier the very day after a victorious war could contribute himself by his evident exaggerations to trouble public opinion?"

The American press is practically unanimous in its accord with Clemenceau and its sympathy with France. The Tribune says:

"Other nations may do as they please about leaving themselves weaponless in a world whose peace armor will be the paper stuff of The Hague, but France will take no chances. She knows what Germany did in 1870. She knows what Germany did in 1914. For a century or two the Germans have sung about the 'Watch on the Rhine,' but France has been compelled to maintain the watch. From the time of Cæsar to that of the late Kaiser the Teuton has considered the Rhine as something to cross. With Russia no longer an ally, France, until other nations are willing to help guarantee peace, deems she has no option but to stand to her own defence.

"Strange, indeed, is it that French spokesmen are compelled to reiterate an argument which the dullest apprehension should be able to fashion for itself."

Under the caption "Shall We Forsake France?" "The Boston Evening Transcript" says:

"This arrogant attitude on the part of Germany ignores German defeat, and assumes German victory. Can any one fancy that M. Clemenceau, Marshal Foch or any other patriotic Frenchman can overlook this fact? And as between Germany, hiding behind the fourteen points and Mr. Lansing, and France, sturdily maintaining her victory and ours, and demanding only the right to serve as an effective bulwark against German aggression, which way does President Wilson suppose that American sympathy will go? Is it conceivable that America will sanction the desertion of France in such an emergency?"

"The Providence Journal" is heart and soul behind the French, declaring:

"Against the danger of a revived military activity by Germany and her unfair industrial advantage in competition with ravaged France the Entente must be on its guard. Every possible means must be taken to repress German aggression on the battlefield, and at the same time the German government must be forced to give up either the machinery stolen from France or an equivalent in German machinery."

There is no surprise in the French anxiety to "The Boston Daily Globe," which calls attention to the ruin of northern France and the malice of the former German ruling class, and observes:

"The peace conference finds France in a hard position. To all appearances Germany is beaten. Militarily there is no doubt of it. But the anxiety betrayed by Premier Clemenceau over the future and General Foch's visions of a German army of 3,000,000 men seem to belie that certainty. President Wilson's assurance to the French Chamber of Deputies that America would stand by in case of future need, warmly as it was received, has not wholly allayed these qualms, and there are strong intimations that these alarms in France are seriously complicating the conference.

"To understand them we have only to put ourselves in the position of the French. England is separated from Germany by the North Sea; the United States by the Atlantic; Italy by the Alps. France must continue to rub elbows with a nation which has twice proved a dangerous neighbor. Twice within living memories has that tiger sprung on France, and both times has it inflicted terrible wounds. When the British and American armies have gone home, leaving France alone, what security has she that the beast will not spring again?"

There is no ground for criticising Clemenceau, in the view of "The Richmond Times-Dispatch," and least of all because of the threatened removal of the peace conference from Paris. This paper writes:

"Ruffled feelings and peevish threats to remove the peace conference to a neutral country with which Premier Clemenceau's remarkable interview has been greeted are important only as indicating the tenseness which exists in Paris. Nerves of the peace conferrees and all others connected with the council are becoming frayed and ragged by reason of the mighty issues involved in their deliberations and the severe mental strain under which they have been laboring. It is not surprising that occasionally the sweet bells of the peacemakers jangle out of tune; it would be surprising if they did not.

"There is nothing alarming in the Premier's interview, no reason to talk of changing the place of the conference, no cause for any one to become excited, even if there may be honest differences of opinion about his wisdom in the manner and time of its giving. The Tiger is fighting for France, as he always has fought, with all the vigor and fire for which he is famous. It is a time for plain talking, and France is fortunate in having at its service a spokesman so virile and unfearing."

If the Poles and the Czechs, with all the fighting they have done, have not had enough of war "The Charleston News and Courier" cannot see why the Germans have necessarily had so much that they would not take up arms again. "In short," it continues, "we cannot be sure that the Germans have had such a dose of war that nothing could make them go to war again." And, furthermore:

"It is entirely conceivable that if the Allied coercive instrumentalities were withdrawn too quickly or too completely the Germans might refuse to carry out demands made upon them by the Allies, especially if they were persuaded that these demands would place upon them a heavy burden; and from this phase they might pass, if they thought they saw a chance, to an actual attempt to take back country of which they might conceive themselves unjustly deprived — Alsace-Lorraine, for instance. People are too prone to ignore the fact that in some respects Germany has emerged from this war in better shape than her continental antagonists. . . . It is small wonder that in this situation French statesmen should regard the future with some anxiety."

"The News and Courier" has something to say about the critics of France, adding to the observation above:

"France is at the frontier; she holds the exposed outpost. If we are not willing to help her in case she needs help, then we should stop criticizing her for taking steps to protect herself. The curious part of it is that the people who criticize her most sharply for taking these steps are the people who are most reluctant to give her any assurance of aid in case she is threatened."

Viscount Grey Carries On

AFTER being afflicted for many years with eye trouble, Viscount Grey, former British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has become totally blind. It is stated that he is already earnestly at work learning the Braille system of raised letters.

Viscount Grey, or, as he then was, Sir Edward Grey, played a highly important part in 1914 when the war started. It is generally felt that he made all possible efforts to avert strife between England and Germany and to bring about an amicable arrangement. Prince Lichnowsky, who was German Ambassador at London when the war began, confirms this in the famous memorandum which he wrote in 1916 in an effort to justify his position, which had been assailed. This memorandum, primarily intended for the private consumption of friends only, ultimately became public property and proved a most enlightening document. In it he described how the aims of the then Sir Edward Grey were not to isolate Germany but to induce Germany to take part in the already established concert by removing the causes of friction between England and Germany and securing the peace of the world by a network of agreements. Viscount Grey is an enthusiastic advocate of the league of nations and favors including Germany in it.

Viscount Grey
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"The New York Evening Post" interestingly writes:

"Viscount Grey is not the first representative of England in foreign affairs to lose his eyesight; the other instance is of the Latin Secretary to the Council of State under the Commonwealth. Grey, like Milton, may claim to have lost his eyesight in the service of his country. There is no reason why blindness should cause the retirement from public affairs of a man esteemed one of the ablest friends of international peace. Senator Gore attained his position in spite of totally losing his sight at the age of eleven. A young Englishman who lost his sight while studying law in London became not only a noted professor and writer on economics, but a prominent statesman — Henry Fawcett. Leslie Stephen has told how when his opponents for Parliament urged his blindness as a disqualification he obtained a hearing 'and told his own story with a simple eloquence that fascinated all hearers.' He carried reforms at Cambridge; agitated so persistently for Indian betterment that he was called 'member for India,' and under Gladstone was one of Britain's best Postmasters General. Sir Arthur Pearson would doubtless maintain that blindness is only a minor misfortune."

The Fourth Week

(Continued from page one)

meeting on Thursday. Besides the French, the Czecho-Slovak delegates were the only members of the commission to vote for the army project.

Increasing attention concerning the retribution to be expected from Germany becomes evident in the instructions given the British delegates to claim as indemnity a sum which will include not only the cost of the war, but also the actual damage. Belgium has also placed her demands before the Supreme Council. They include a free navigation of the Scheldt and the restoration of certain territory held by the Dutch, besides the German districts of Montjoie and Malmedy, to prevent the possibility of a future German invasion.

The question of Russia, while still in a state of indecision, may become simplified by the possibility of four Russian factions sending delegates to the Princess' Islands conference. They will represent the Ukraine, the Crimea, the Bolsheviki and probably the government of General Denikine at Ekaterinodar.

Besides the conflict of French and American aims, another cloud which passed over the conference was the report that Japan had exercised pressure on China to restrain the action of the Chinese delegates at the conference. The Havas Agency has given out a statement by Viscount Chinda, the Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain, and now representing his country at the peace conference, flatly denying the report, as follows:

"There has been no pressure exercised, no menace formulated, no bargaining done on the subject of the Province of Shantung or any other Chinese territory. No right of control has been sought over China, and there has been in no degree any ambition to represent China at the peace conference.

"Besides, our relations with the President of the Chinese Republic and the ministry are most cordial."

The Japanese have failed to have the Society of Nations Commission adopt an amendment prohibiting racial discrimination in immigration laws. Several delegates urged that debate on the subject would open such a large question that great delay might ensue, and the matter was dropped without vote.

Even with the departure of three great figures of the conference, Premier Lloyd George, Premier Orlando and President Wilson, it is now believed that June 1 will see the work completed.